7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

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Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 582 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-granddaughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

[602] [844]

604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.